Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 15456 01 OF 02 151147Z

53

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1835

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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 15456

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, EC, GW, US, UK, FR, UR

SUBJECT: ALLIED REPLY TO SOVIET DEMARCHE ON EC

PARLIAMENT

REFS: (A) BONN 15177; (B) STATE 219657;

(C) BONN 14595; (D) BONN 14571

BEGIN SUMMARY: ON INSTRUCTIONS, THE UK BONN GROUP REP HAS TABLED REVISIONS TO THE SEPTEMBER 9 AD REF DRAFT REPLY TO THE SOVIET PROTEST ON DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. LONDON DOES NOT AGREE TO THE DEPARTMENT'S PREFERENCE FOR DELETING ALL REFERENCES TO THE "EXISTING SITUATION" FROM ALLIED REPLY. FRG AND FRENCH REPS HAVE INSTRUCTIONS GENERALLY APPROVING THE SEPTEMBER 9 AD REF TEXT BUT CONSIDER THE CHANGES REQUESTED BY LONDON ACCEPTABLE. FURTHER DISCUSSION WAS DEFERRED, PENDING THE DEPARTMENT'S REACTION TO THE SEPTEMBER 9 DRAFT. EMBASSY BELIEVES THE REVISIONS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 15456 01 OF 02 151147Z

REQUESTED BY LONDON WOULD STRIKE A PROPER BALANCE AND

MEET THE CRITERIA EARLIER SET DOWN BY THE DEPARTMENT FOR THE REPLY. END SUMMARY.

- 1. AT THE SEPTEMBER 14 BONN GROUP MEETING, FRG, UK, AND FRENCH REPS REPORTED INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS ON THE REVISED REPLY TO THE AUGUST 3 SOVIET DEMARCHE ON WHICH AD REF AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED IN THE BONN GROUP ON SEPTEMBER 9 (REFTEL A).
- 2. HENZE (FRG) SAID THAT, WHILE THE FRG STILL PREFERRED THE EARLIER BONN GROUP DRAFT (REF D, AS CORRECTED IN REF C), THE SEPTEMBER 9 DRAFT HAD NOW BEEN APPROVED AT THE STATE SECRETARY LEVEL WITH TWO MINOR CHANGES. IN THE THIRD PARAGRAPH OF THE TEXT (PARA 4, REF A), THE FRG WOULD LIKE TO DELETE THE WORD "HOWEVER" FROM THE THIRD SENTENCE, WHICH READS: "THEY WILL, HOWEVER, NOT BE DIRECTLY ELECTED...". IN THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE, THE FRG WOULD LIKE TO CHANGE "WOULD NOT" AFFECT THE STATUS OF BERLIN TO "DOES NOT" OR "WILL NOT."
- 3. BOISSIEU (FRANCE) SAID THAT PARIS WOULD PREFER NOT TO SEE THE ALLIED REPLY PUBLISHED BUT WOULD AGREE TO PUBLICATION ON CONDITION THAT THE OTHER THREE BONN GROUP COUNTRIES INSISTED STRONGLY. THE OTHER THREE REPS REITERATED THEIR VIEW THAT PUBLICATION WAS NECESSARY, GIVEN THE FACTS THAT THE SOVIETS HAD PUBLISHED THEIR AUGUST 3 DEMARCHE AND THAT THE GENERAL CONTENT OF THE ALLIED REPLY WAS BOUND TO BE LEAKED AND BACKGROUNDED IN ANY EVENT
- 4. ON CONTENT, BOISSIEU SAID THAT THE FRENCH WERE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE SEPTEMBER 9 DRAFT. THEY WOULD WISH TO REVISE THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THE SECOND PARAGRAPH BY DELETING THE PHRASE, "AND SUBJECT TO ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES," AND ADDING TO THE END OF THAT SENTENCE A QUOTATION FROM BK/L (57) 44 ("INSOFAR AS IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ALLIED AUTHORITIES").
- 5. HITCH (UK) REPORTED THAT THE FCO, WHILE EARLIER CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 15456 01 OF 02 151147Z

PRESSING FOR AGREEMENT ON THE ALLIED REPLY BEFORE SEPTEMBER 20, WHEN THE EC MINISTERS WERE TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON DIRECT ELECTIONS, HAD NOW ADOPTED THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEW THAT IT WAS MORE IMPORTANT TO HAVE A GOOD REPLY THAN A TIMELY ONE. IF THE SOVIETS ISSUED A NEW STATEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE SEPTEMBER 20 ACTION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH.

6. HITCH CONTINUED THAT, ON SUBSTANCE, THE FCO WAS NOT IN AGREEMENT WITH THE SEPTEMBER 9 AD REF TEXT. LONDON HAD CONSIDERED THE DEPARTMENT'S ARGUMENTS (REF B) BUT CONTINUED TO FEEL THAT A REFERENCE TO THE "EXISTING SITUATION" WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE ALLIED ARGUMENT AND SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE REPLY. IN LONDON'S VIEW,

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 15456 02 OF 02 151205Z

53

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 15456

THE "EXISTING SITUATION" ARGUMENT WAS NO MORE PROVOCATIVE TO THE SOVIETS THAN MUCH OF THE OTHER LANGUAGE IN THE ALLIED REPLY. HITCH THEN TABLED, ON INSTRUCTIONS, A REVISED DRAFT WHICH RETAINED MUCH OF THE LANGUAGE AND STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT IN REF A BUT RESTORED ONE OF THE REFERENCES TO "EXISTING SITUATION" FROM THE AUGUST 31 BONN GROUP AD REF TEXT (PARAS C AND D OF THE TEXT IN PARA 7, REF D). LONDON WOULD AGREE TO DELETING THE TWO

REFERENCES TO "EXISTING SITUATION" FROM THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH (PARA 7E, REF D).

7. THE BONN GROUP AGREED THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF A US REACTION TO THE SEPTEMBER 9 AD REF DRAFT, IT WOULD NOT BE WORTHWHILE TO ATTEMPT TO REWORK THE DRAFT AT THIS TIME. THE US REP UNDERTOOK TO REPORT THE UK POSITION TO WASHINGTON BUT FIRST ASKED FOR REACTIONS OF FRENCH AND FRG REPS TO THE CHANGES LONDON HAD REQUESTED. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 15456 02 OF 02 151205Z

8. HENZE NOTED THAT THE FRG HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED TO THE AUGUST 31 TEXT, WHICH CONTAINED THE LANGUAGE LONDON WISHED TO RETAIN, AND COULD THEREFORE AGREE TO THE UK PROPOSAL. BOISSIEU DEFENDED THE US POSITION TO THE EXTENT OF STATING THAT HE HAD ALWAYS THOUGHT THE "EXISTING SITUATION" ARGUMENT MUST BE HANDLED VERY CARE-FULLY. ASIDE FROM THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET NOTE WAS NOT BASED ON CHARGES OF CHANGES IN THE EXISTING SITUATION, OUR USE OF THAT ARGUMENT ALSO COULD ENABLE THE OTHER SIDE TO USE IT TO ITS ADVANTAGE: HE ASKED RHETORICALLY HOW WE MIGHT JUSTIFY CONTINUING TO PROTEST MILITARY PARADES IN EAST BERLIN, WHEN SUCH PARADES MIGHT BE SEEN AS PART OF THE EXISTING SITUATION. BOISSIEU CONTINUED, HOWEVER, THAT WE HAD USED THE ARGUMENT BEFORE IN RESPONSES TO SOVIET PROTESTS AND THAT -- EVEN THOUGH HE THOUGHT IT NON-ESSENTIAL TO THE PRESENT REPLY -- HE WOULD NOT OPPOSE THE BRITISH PREFERENCE FOR RETAINING IT.

9. COMMENT: IN ADVOCATING DEPARTMENT'S PROPOSED TEXT AT SEPTEMBER 9 MEETING, US REP EXPLAINED DEPARTMENT'S VIEW THAT, WHILE "ALLIED ARGUMENTS SHOULD BE BASED ON THE FACT THAT EXTENSION OF THE ROME TREATY TO BERLIN WAS PART OF THE 'EXISTING SITUATION'" (PARA 1, REF B), THE REPLY SHOULD NOT INCLUDE LANGUAGE SUGGESTING THAT THE ALLIES WOULD NECESSARILY CONSIDER ANY FUTURE EC DEVELOP-MENTS PART OF THE 'EXISTING SITUATION' (PARA 1B, REF B). WITH ITS THREE REFERENCES TO "EXISTING SITUATION" THE AUGUST 31 TEXT HAD PERHAPS GONE OVERBOARD IN THAT DIRECTION AND COULD WELL HAVE STIMULATED THE SOVIET OVER-REACTION DEPARTMENT WISHED TO AVOID. THE BONN GROUP ON SEPTEMBER 9 THUS AGREED TO DELETE ALL REFERENCES TO "EXISTING SITUATION" -- ALBEIT UNWILLINGLY. OTHER REPS POINTED OUT THAT THE AUGUST 31 TEXT HAD IN LARGE MEASURE BEEN MODELED ON THE FEBRUARY 28, 1975, REPLY TO THE FIRST SOVIET PROTEST ON ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EC VOCA-TIONAL CENTER IN BERLIN. THAT REPLY STATED THAT "...THE ACTS OF COMMUNITY ORGANS TAKEN ON THE BASIS OF COMMUNITY TREATIES IN FORCE IN THE WSB, CANNOT CON-

STITUTE A UNILATERAL CHANGE IN THE EXISTING SITUATION" (75 BONN 2755 AND 75 BONN 3094). CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 15456 02 OF 02 151205Z

10. IN EMBASSY VIEW, UK AGREEMENT TO DELETION OF TWO OF REFERENCES TO "EXISTING SITUATION" FROM THE EARLIER TEXT, WHILE RETAINING ONE, COMES CLOSE TO MEETING THE CRITERIA SET OUT BY THE DEPARTMENT IN REF B. CONSIDERING THAT THE ALLIES HAVE PREVIOUSLY REFERRED TO THE EXISTING SITUATION IN RESPONSES TO SOVIET PROTESTS, INCLUDING THAT ON THE EC VOCATIONAL CENTER, WE BELIEVE THAT SOMETHING LIKE WHAT THE UK IS PROPOSING SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

11. ACTION REQUESTED: REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S REACTION TO THE UK PROPOSAL, TO PERMIT RESUMPTION OF DRAFTING IN THE BONN GROUP AIMED AT ACCOMMODATING ALSO THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY BONN AND PARIS.
HILLENBRAND

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